

of bringing back for burial  
the Government would resist  
— the morticians' lobby  
of American soldiers' bodies  
like that... In any case, not  
kept war cemetery in "some  
reynolds' News, July 12, 1953

# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 891

July 24 1953

FOURPENCE (U.S. 5 cents)

THE RETREAT  
FROM  
CHURCHILL

By Enrys Hughes, M.P.

PAGE SIX

first world war, it may be  
flesh and bones buried  
in the war shrines the world  
over this human need when face  
to face with the closed door of death.  
It is not  
it, but it is by no means  
morticians who do so.  
means the unfair use of some  
or gain of some kind; some  
the American undertakers  
in order to make money, automatically condemn them to  
one the ways in which human  
exploited, and still is, for  
war.

"cabaret," used by Tom Driberg  
in business of digging up  
bodies from the battlefields over  
and when emotions were high  
utmost by bringing one  
body for burial in Westminster  
first world war.  
body was dug up from  
tenders poppies, or upon  
mine, or possibly out of  
which had once been the  
but there was no suggestion  
thing was macabre; on  
an inspired idea that would  
to thousands whose bodies  
brought to pieces by high explosives  
and no resting place in grave.

★  
Wars, the War Graves Commission  
which money and time in digging  
boys and men who had  
left, in order to bring them  
one of those "peaceful"  
crosses, their names and  
should remain regimented  
such consoling words as "They shall not grow old"  
"left grow old," or  
only this of me, That  
a foreign field, That  
its futile waste of life is  
exploited in stone, and  
one end of the world to the  
members of Parliament  
cost of bringing back dead  
battlefields would be better  
discussing the elimination  
will certainly not be achieved  
at war cemeteries are planned  
the contrary, they are symbols  
untimely death; strip  
losses, fine words and  
they but a mark of  
the only advantage of commercial television," Stuart Morris said, "is that pacifists  
can get on it."

As a result he had taken part in a four-hour debate on Christian pacifism, had given eight interviews, and made three recordings for which he was informed the audience might be estimated at not less than a million people.  
see for yourself?  
and appellate tribunals  
objectors are open to  
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education. Parents, teachers  
and youth club leaders  
ent of including a visit to  
rricula.  
information of the tribunals  
ot recommended that parents  
a dozen should attend  
ondon next sittings are  
CAL TRIBUNAL: Fulham  
Broadway. Tribunals  
commence at 10.30 a.m.  
ELLATE TRIBUNAL:  
ent's Park. (Tube, Baker St.)  
7. Sessions are at 10.30 a.m.

## Stand up to America

STUART MORRIS HOME  
AND HOPEFUL

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

"GO back to Britain and tell them we are relying on them. It is easier for you to influence your government than it is for us to influence ours... make Britain stand up to America, and refuse to be dragged at our heels into policies of military aggression with which she does not agree."

This said Stuart Morris, was the voice of "The Other America."

He was addressing an enthusiastic audience which had gathered at the Mary Ward Settlement, London, to welcome him on his return from a lecture tour in the USA.

"I am convinced there is no paradox quite so great as the paradox of America," he continued. "The overwhelming distances make it all but impossible to get a composite picture: it makes the work of the pacifist movement infinitely more difficult than anything we know here."

### Threshing things out

Nevertheless in spite of his detention on Ellis Island—which prevented him from fulfilling many of the arrangements made by the War Resisters League of America—he had visited 14 states, spoken to informal study groups in at least six Universities, addressed business men's and other lunch meetings, and come in contact with many people who had never before heard of pacifism.

He drew particular attention to the "Institutes" arranged by the American Friends Service Committee, at which as many as 200 people, of differing opinions, might spend five days or a week together "threshing things out" until by slow and gradual steps, strong disagreement gave way, as it so often did—to a corporate mind and decision.

### American Radio

"The only advantage of commercial television," Stuart Morris said, "is that pacifists can get on it."

As a result he had taken part in a four-hour debate on Christian pacifism, had given eight interviews, and made three recordings for which he was informed the audience might be estimated at not less than a million people.

### War hysteria

It was true, he admitted, that war fever was intenable. There was the testing of air raid sirens; air raid drills in many of the schools; public notices stating which streets would be closed in the event of war.

It was true also that McCarthyism was to the fore. Forgetful that the price of liberty was eternal vigilance innocent people gave evidence rather than risk the loss of their jobs by refusal.

### The H-bomb

Perhaps most dangerous of all was American pride in the hydrogen bomb—a bomb so powerful that it could completely destroy by fire a whole island, generate a heat so intense that concrete and steel would be melted within a radius of 10 miles.

Nevertheless "The Other America" did exist. He was tremendously encouraged by what he found: there was a longing to do something positive; a realisation that the

● Continued on back page

## GERMAN PACIFISTS CROSS BORDER



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of peace. Friendliness, fun and  
too few vacancies for elderly people  
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## NATIONAL SERVICE

Strong support for an  
investigation

THE London Times has issued a warning about public complacency with regard to National Service. In a leading article on July 16 the paper comments:

"There is perhaps a danger that the successful employment of national service men in the Far East and elsewhere may confirm a little too quickly the impression that a spell in the Forces, particularly in an operational theatre, automatically counters both moral and physical benefits, upon young men. If this is so the main credit must go, by any reckoning, to the regular officers and N.C.O.s, who provide the training and the leadership."

"The curious thing, however, is that no impartial body has yet made it its business, after eight years of peace time conscription in this country, to investigate national service as a whole and its effects on the men themselves, the Army and the

Following the article, letters on the subject appeared in the correspondence columns of The Times. The first was from Col. R. A. C. Radcliffe, Secretary to the Management Research Groups, who wrote supporting the editorial plea for an investigation of national service.

Col. Radcliffe's letter continues:

"The remarkable way in which the nation accepted conscription for its young men after the war was due in part at least, I believe, to the very general feeling throughout the country, of which I had ample evidence when War Office adviser to the Ministry of Labour on the resettlement of service men in industry, that the services had during the war done on the whole a good job for the men entrusted to their care.

"It is very doubtful whether national service stands, or deserves to stand, in such good esteem, and, if this is so, it is almost certainly as much the fault of teachers, employers, parents and others who often influence wrongly the attitude of young people towards their service as it is the fault of the services themselves.

"National service, which costs millions of pounds annually, seems likely to be with us for many years, and, that being so, it is surely absurd and wrong that we should not do our utmost to get the best possible advantage out of it in the interests both of the young men themselves and of the country as a whole.

### WELCOMED

"An investigation, such as you suggest, with the widest possible terms of reference seems to be the best way to bring this about and it would, I feel sure, be widely welcomed by very many people, including those concerned with management in industry."

Mr. W. F. F. Scott, Director of Training and Welfare of a large British export company, Tube Investments Limited, suggested (July 21) that it was more appropriate to regard the absence of any impartial investigation into national service as "deplorable" rather than "curious."

The question of socially-valuable forms of national service is raised by Mr. Scott whose letter goes on:

"Some three years ago we began in this group of companies a system of assessing

the nation. National service is a military necessity today. Many young men are extremely resilient, but it does not necessarily follow that these, or their weaker brethren, benefit as much from their periods in uniform as some older people take for granted.

"Is the national service man posted to Malaya luckier than his brother posted to Bicester? Does the young man like Private Jenson (see Jungle Green by Major Arthur Campbell, Allen and Unwin) recover from his failure in the jungle? Are employers, the churches, and parents generally agreed that military service is beneficial, or do the benefits (and the opposite) vary with units, arms and theatres? It is a subject of importance."

the characters and attitudes to work of all our lads just before leaving to enter the services and again—without reference to the previous report—when, after return, they had been with their company long enough for a fair judgment to be made.

I tried, by means of an article in the *Industrial Welfare Journal* and by speaking at meetings of industrialists, to persuade other managers to adopt the same plan so that a sufficiently large number of national service men would be assessed for worth-while conclusions to be drawn. One other large company adopted the scheme, but even so it will be far too long before sufficient assessments have been made to permit generalisations. In the meantime service conditions will have altered and the conclusions may no longer apply.

### URGENT

"I suggest, Sir, that there is urgent need for a common nation-wide scheme of assessment by all large employers (including public and nationalised undertakings) who are willing and who have the facilities for ensuring reasonably reliable arrangements for assessment. Only so can a sufficient body of results be collected quickly enough. Admittedly the assessments, being subjective, will not have full statistical validity, but I submit that even so they will be of great value in indicating what forms of service are, or are not, socially valuable.

"National service comes to a lad when his character and attitudes are still malleable. It matters tremendously to the future well-being of the nation that the experience is beneficial—as it can be and sometimes is. We cannot afford to remain ignorant of the effect various types of service are having on various types of lad."

The Secretary of King George's Jubilee Trust, Mr. T. N. F. Wilson, in a letter also published on July 21 announces that his Trust is concerned to make an investigation into influences affecting young persons from primary school age until about the age of 20.

"This investigation," writes Mr. Wilson, "for which much preliminary work has already been done, will therefore cover the matters raised in your leading article and Colonel Radcliffe's letter and will be carried out by an impartial body as advocated. The Trust will shortly issue an agreed statement giving the plan for this investigation in detail."

### Russia to co-operate with aid

RUSSIA has now for the first time declared in favour of co-operation with other nations in bringing assistance to the under-developed countries.

At the meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council at Geneva on July 15, Mr. A. A. Arutunian said that Russia would contribute the sum of 4 million roubles (£360,000) to technical assistance.

When this subject was dealt with last October during the debate of the UN Assembly's Second (Economic and Financial) Committee, the Russian delegation opposed on the ground that the under-developed countries only con-

### What we think

● The accompanying report of what looks like the initiation of a campaign for the investigation of national service, prompted no doubt by the remarkable evidence of conditions in the Forces which have recently come to light, is something in which all those concerned for the well-being of youth should be interested.

● It is unlikely that the views of the sources quoted on the ultimate purposes of military service will be the views of most readers of this paper. It is however to be welcomed that anxiety about the effects of that service on the young people involved is now showing itself. The basis of the investigation should be made public. The "impartial body" set up for the purpose should include representation from those groups and churches which have made this matter a special concern. We believe that the views of the pacifist movement should not be ignored by such an investigating body and for this reason we cannot accept the claim of the Secretary to King George's Jubilee Trust that his organisation can be regarded as an impartial body for this purpose.

● It is to be hoped that wide support will be obtained for the proposed investigation and that public interest will see to it that the investigation is complete and thorough-going; that it will not shrink from examining the moral and spiritual consequences of training in and practice of violence at the same time that it examines physical and mental effects of service life. The conditions of men under alternative service should also be brought within the purview of the investigating commission.

● Mr. Scott, of Tube Investments, suggests that there can be more than one form of national service. The experience of non-military bodies engaged in national service should be drawn upon.

● In short, if the proposal is taken up, as we strongly urge it should be, the resulting commission must not be allowed to disregard the testimony of that section of opinion which has always maintained that compulsory military service is a blight upon the youth of the world.

### LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

## 20 resolutions on Colonial Policy

THE Labour Party Conference meets at the Winter Gardens Margate, from September 28 to October 2.

Among the hundreds of resolutions before it are many indicating the concern of Labour Party members at the lack of constructive response from the Party to the changed international situation. The speedy ending of the Korean War, a ceasing of dependence upon American policy, the unification of Germany and the abolition of mass-death weapons are among the aspects of foreign policy urged.

A number of other resolutions advocate reduction of spending on armaments.

One of the largest sections containing twenty resolutions, many of them long, concerns Colonial Policy. The conscience of the Labour movement would appear to have been moved.

The Conference is required to affirm, in the words of one resolution, "that the protracted subjection of colonial peoples is incompatible with Socialist principles," and to state publicly that the next Labour Government "will announce its intention of... fixing target dates for the granting of dominion status."

A number of resolutions on National Service include calls for the reduction of the period of service and demands that compulsory military service be abolished altogether.

Colonial Debate—page six

stituted a problem because the capitalist countries, and the United States in particular, sought to control them as sources of raw materials and as export outlets. This was the object of the American Point Four Programme which was being used to aid the expansionist policy of the United States and also to stockpile strategic materials.

Mr. Arutunian returned to this subject at the UN Economic and Social Council meeting when he said that the embargo placed by America on strategic goods was a device to prevent under-developed countries from selling their raw materials in the most advantageous markets. The US could thus obtain a virtual monopoly of primary products.

# PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

24th July, 1953

## DULLES, NOT McCARTHY, THE GREATER THREAT

**I**N a very eloquent BBC broadcast last week, Joseph Harsch described the harm being done to America's reputation in Europe by the operations of Senator McCarthy.

There were genuine fears that McCarthy was a symptom of a trend that led to the kind of suppression seen hitherto in the Fascist and Communist States.

One result of McCarthyism, he remarked, was that in France measures against Communists had now died down because it was felt that, if McCarthyism was synonymous with anti-Communism, decent people with a regard for liberty wanted nothing to do with either. The name of McCarthy had become a focusing point for a variety of antagonisms to American policy.

Despite the great discernment displayed in Mr. Harsch's broadcast, however, it was wrong on its most important point.

It is not McCarthy who symbolises for the average European the outstanding danger in which all stand as a result of American policy, but Dulles.

That McCarthyism threatens all free enquiry and all independent cultural development is true; but it is still felt that however myopic the electors of Wisconsin may be the great majority of the American public see through him.

There can be no such satisfying assurance with regard to Dulles.

When Eisenhower has given some glimmering of hope that America might be ready to negotiate, not impose, a peace it is not McCarthy who comes along to extinguish it. It is Dulles. And Dulles is a trusted colleague of the President, while McCarthy, it is generally recognised, is held in contempt by Eisenhower and tolerated only so far and for so long as the exigencies of the political set-up require it.

It is highly probable that McCarthy recognises himself as others see him—as a political adventurer as devoid of scruple as he is of any sense of political decency; a politically inflated "corner-boy."

There is, however, no doubt that John Foster Dulles sees himself as a good man, as witness his article last year in one of the religious magazines setting out how he had been instrumental in bringing about a Christian settlement in the treaty between the USA and Japan.

The politician who has a self-righteous sense of his own goodness can be a more unpleasant figure than the political rascal, and he is certainly a much more dangerous one.

This blind self-righteousness was the outstanding quality of the broadcast speech made by Mr. Dulles last Friday.

It was at its most nauseating in the comments on Korea, where, it must be remembered, the two sides had reached agreement and Dr. Syngman Rhee had liberated 25,000 prisoners in an endeavour to destroy it. In what can only be described as a mild and conciliatory spirit the North Koreans and Chinese consented despite this to continue discussions in order to get agreement.

It is in these circumstances that Mr. Dulles deems it appropriate to exclaim that the United Nations forces are not supplicants and that "We are ready for an honourable peace, but if the Communists want war we must be ready for that, too." Mr. Dulles is failing here in a sense of decency.

Then in relation to Europe he remarks:

"If the Soviet rulers really want the peace about which they talk so much they will stop the fanatical and senseless Communist opposition to European unity and instead endorse it."

Here is an appalling incapacity to see matters from a Russian standpoint.

It is not a united Europe (about the economic advantages of which a great deal of nonsense is talked) that the Russians feel the need to oppose but a Europe united in arms and whose arms they fear may, under American direction, be turned against Russia.

Mr. Dulles confirms Russian fears when he goes on to declare:

"If, for example, true liberty were restored to Czechoslovakia, it could become a member of the European community and enjoy the vast economic and security benefits which are available to the community members." (Our italics.)

Were Russia in a position to achieve South American unity, with economic and security benefits, through the construction of arsenals and air bases in the South American lands Mr. Dulles might not find opposition quite so senseless.

Dulles, not McCarthy, is the political symbol of that aspect of the American outlook that is most dangerous to the world.

The danger is greatest for those nations that have been so imprudent as to become linked with American policy.

## Don't waste these dollars

IT seems that there had better be a war after all; otherwise the Americans will have wasted their money.

The West German Defence Minister, Herr Theodor Blank, has been discussing defence matters with the American Defence Department and as a result says that the United States authorities see no alternative to the European Defence Community.

The Manchester Guardian correspondent in Berlin, who reports this (July 15, 1953), says that it is believed that "one of the most important reasons for this is the amount of money that the Americans have invested in defence work in Western Germany. The neutralisation of a united Germany would compel them to abandon aerodromes and other military installations worth many millions of dollars."

Later a spokesman of Herr Blank's department informed the press that German military instructors are to be trained by the armed forces of the United States in America and Germany.

Germany would need a particularly intensive training system which would have to be continued until the German forces were as efficient as those of the other countries participating in the European Defence Community.

## German militarism becomes clamant

THE League of German Soldiers is a society which seeks to co-ordinate the activities of all German ex-service men's societies.

It held a meeting last Sunday at Hanover, attended by a considerable number of German Generals who had served under Hitler.

General Traugott Herr (retired Panzer-General) said it was desirable to unite all German soldiers in one organisation in the interests of German defence and recovery, and also to inspire the young "who desired energetic representatives of a living soldierly tradition."

Other speakers urged that justice should now be done to the Waffen S.S. If Germany were to be looked to for the defence of Europe the past must be effaced.

General Herbert Gille, of the Waffen S.S., however, had no such desire for the effacement of the past. He said that the Wehrmacht and the Waffen S.S. were the precursors of the

I DO not know whether it makes sense or is appropriate in such a column as this, but I cannot resist the temptation to call attention to three unconnected items which happened to come to my attention within a few hours of each other a day or two ago.

They all illustrate in one form or another how nonsensical human beings can be.

The first to be mentioned is the announcement from Peking that the Chinese Government has opened a "drive" on "too many drives." Translated somewhat literally, it is "an anti-five-too-many movements movement." The five "too many" are "too many tasks, too many meetings, too many documents and forms, too many organisations and too many concurrent posts for cadres."

It is much to be regretted that this excellent idea should emanate from the Communists, which of course means that we cannot use it over here under Senator McCarthy's watchful eye. But I understand a more objective attitude obtains in Great Britain, so I heartily commend the idea to British readers.

My second sample comes from Rude Pravo, the Communist Party organ in Prague.

It recently declared that Czech boys and girls must learn the art of war "because, like everybody else, we want peace."

The paper, according to an Associated Press dispatch, "has been beating the drum for compulsory military training," and now extols "the new government programme in which boys and girls learn the finer points of grenade hurling and rifle shooting."

This matter of learning the arts of war "because, like everybody else, we want peace" is, of course, one which the Christian and democratic nations practised even before there were any Communists.

## Frank words on apartheid

My third and last instance of "midsummer madness" is from an address delivered on July 12 in Johannesburg by Johannes Gerhardus Strydom, a leading member of the Nationalist Party and probable successor in a year or two of the 79-year-old Prime Minister, Daniel F. Malan.

He was presumably taking to task some of his fellow Nationalists for interpreting his chief's "total segregation" policy too literally. He declared that some who advocate "total apartheid" visualise a Bantustan, a separate Bantu State.

This sounds logical, but Mr. Strydom says it is "not practical politics and is not at all practicable. It is perhaps a wonderful idea for the future, but is unpracticable at the moment."

The reason is that "we could not take servants out of European homes, neither could we take non-European labour away from the white farms."

This is certainly commendable frankness for a politician. It does not mean that Mr. Strydom is surrendering the "wonderful ideal."

He concludes with the assurance that "generations to come may find total apartheid possible," even though for the present "the

# BEHIND THE NEWS

the Peking government and its admission to the United Nations.

The United States stands for maintaining in arms the Peking Government's enemy, Chiang Kai-shek, and the prevention of that government's association with the United Nations.

If there is to be a common policy on Korea it will have to be on a different basis from the policy that has obtained in the past.

## Government without consent

THE way in which federation for Central Africa has been made law has a lesson for people in Britain no less than for those in Africa.

From the beginning voters in Britain have been given to understand that federation in itself would be a good thing and that African opposition is of the nature of the ignorant protesting against that which they don't realise is good for them.

In accepting the principle of federation, the Labour Party has added to this impression.

Even the most disturbed among the electors have been moved by the injustice of all regarding African opinion rather than by all deep feelings about the federal idea in the connection.

The new Central African state will, by the opportunity now presented to it, be able freely to go about the business of establishing totalitarianism in Africa.

Malan in the south, by progressively killing the power of the Provinces and tribal authorities, has shown the way.

With federation now a fact Sir Godfrey Huggins is well set to becoming dictator of a vast easy-to-exploit territory and population.

The consolidation of power is an evil thing at any time. In the modern world it is ominous. Chief Mwase of Nyasaland and his colleagues in other parts of Central Africa are in the van of the struggle not merely for their own freedom but for ours, too.

It is moral jiggery-pokery to suggest that now federation is law they and we must submit to it.

The Africans of those territories are now placed in precisely that classic intolerant situation in which the only course of honourable men is resistance.

They have been shown how resistance can be pursued along lines of non-violence, and we hope that this is the course they will take.

Despite Mr. Attlee's endorsement of this legislation as an accomplished fact—an indication of the hollow sham to which our two party policies have reduced our conception of democracy—the Labour Party should make it clear that it will have no part in repressive measures against the native peoples of these lands, and that resistance to the changes to which they have declared their opposition will call, not for repression but for the withdrawal of this legislation or its reconstruction on the lines they desire.

## East Germany: The next phase

**H**ERR OTTO GROTEWOHL, member of the Social Democratic Party in East Germany before the formation of the Socialist Unity Party, in which many Social Democrats were induced to join the Communists announced on June 24, after the rising in East Berlin and other parts of East Germany, that a new programme for the amelioration of the workers' conditions, which would show that the Government had recognised its errors, would be published in a fortnight.

This statement has now been published in the Socialist Unity Party's organ *Neue Deutschland*. Its most important aspect, however, lies in the declaration of war upon the Social Democrats that it contains. It is the Social Democrats it is declared who were largely responsible for what happened on June 17.

This is what we have always assumed, and the present pronouncement is a confirmation of the earlier claims of Herr Grotewohl's Party that the rising was fomented by agents of imperialism from the West.

That there was activity in seeking to cause mischief by those who had entered from the West once these monster demonstrations of discontent were on the streets is of course true, but the main impulse of the rising was necessarily much more fundamental.

Now Max Fechner, an old Social Democrat, has been removed from the Ministry of Justice and imprisoned, and he is replaced by Madame Hilda Benjamin, a Communist. The Social Democrats have to be isolated from the workers.

One place in which they are particularly strong is Magdeburg, the town with which Herr Grotewohl was associated when he was a Social Democrat. The Social Democrats are said have now placed themselves between the working class and its Government.

The moral that has to be drawn however is not that the Social Democrats more fully represent working-class aspirations than that Government policy should take more account of their views; it is that they should be acted against ruthlessly.

What is demonstrated here once more is that those who work by methods of democracy cannot hope to co-operate successfully in organisations with the Communists. Sooner or later they will either cease to be their fate to be liquidated.

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hitherto unknown, and we urge H.M.G. to  
renew all efforts to attain to a comprehensive  
disarmament which will include the abolition  
such methods of mass warfare."

The resolution continues:

"We do not regard the manufacture of such  
weapons as a legitimate method of attempting  
to secure victory. We believe that their use  
by both contestants in a world war would lead to  
devastation, misery and hatred on a scale  
hitherto unknown, and we urge H.M.G. to  
renew all efforts to attain to a comprehensive  
disarmament which will include the abolition  
such methods of mass warfare."

Cold War Strategy

"Part of Russia's new Cold War Strategy  
East European countries were now devoted to  
iving their peoples a better life."

—News Chronicle, July 8th, 1953

What is the better life for any land?

That is a question hard to understand.

They call it "cold war strategy"; can it be

that none are quite so blind as will not

see?

No people, east or west, desire to fight,

Only the "War Lords" cast their deathly

blight,

Spreading distrust and fear among us all,

While we wait quietly for the bombs to

fall!

—PHYLIS VALLANCE.

THE CORONATION

AND THE CASH

(With apologies to Emrys Hughes)

THE CORONATION had indeed a great deal to do with the collection we took at the Trafalgar Square Rally on July 4.

Some of the erections put up for the Coronation in the Square had not then been taken down. In consequence, our speakers could not use the plinth, and the loudspeakers had to be powered by batteries which reduced their volume considerably.

In addition, the Ministry of Works seemed to consider that any Coronation visitors still lurking in London would prefer to hear the noise of the fountains rather than the voice of reason.

The water was not turned off and literally drowned the already feeble sounds coming from the amplifiers.

The result was that although the weather was unusually kind to us, the crowd was far smaller than usual on these occasions.

As readers of Peace News will know, the Trafalgar Square Rally was a joint venture of organisations represented on the Joint Standing Committee of Pacifist Organisations, of which the Peace Pledge Union is one.

They share the cost as well as the takings. But the collection was so small that there are £10,000 less than the share which falls on the P.P.U.

The Coronation will be paid for out of your collection, whether you like it or not. But the gap between our expenses and the result of the collection caused by the Coronation can only be bridged by your freely given help.

Working-class aspirations and social Democrats more than others, have to be drawn however.

A policy should take more than ruthlessness; it is that they should

strategically once more work by methods of democratic  
co-operation successfully.

With the Communists they will either cease to be or one way or another, it will

be liquidated.

HILDA von KLENZE

Dick Sheppard House.

Amount received to date: £357.

Our aim for the year: £1,000.

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# FOR A CHRISTIAN FOREIGN POLICY

FOR a Christian, Congressman Velde's threat to investigate the churches goes deeper than the fact that our Constitution guarantees freedom of religion.

It joins an issue that had sooner or later to be joined, unless the churches abdicated their responsibilities.

It is the issue of sin.

The Congressional witch-hunt is merely the spearhead for those Americans who believe they have at last located the source of sin in the modern world.

It is a major triumph for the Devil that he has persuaded them the only source of sin is Communism!

Being persuaded, they will not think to examine their own hearts. The Kremlin becomes Hell; Stalin—or Malenkov—becomes Lucifer; Communist officials become demons; anti-Communists become those who are saved, and ex-Communists those most precious souls who repented.

All sins except Communism pale to nothingness. They are venial. We can gladly overlook roguery or malfacience in high office, provided the rogue is fighting Communism. A sort of blanket dispensation covers any Senator who loudly joins the Great Crusade.

Thus sin seems to be disposed of; and, being but human, we sigh with relief—even those of us who are too modern to use the word "sin" any longer.

But it seems disposed of only to Americans, and not even to all of those. The self-righteousness which results from this facile solution horrifies our military allies; arouses derision in countries we accuse of neutralism (he that is not with Us is against Us!); and fills with shame those Americans who believe that on the Last Day we shall each be judged by quite other standards than the kind of Americanism our grand inquisitors claim to protect.

WE are all being urged to apply for plenary indulgence by joining the red-hunt, by tattling, by slander, by spying against our neighbours.

We are becoming like the Washington burglar who, a few months ago, telephoned the FBI that they would find top-secret government documents on the second floor at such and such an address.

And who, asked the FBI, was he?

"Oh, me!" he replied. "I'm just a burglar who happened to come across them. I thought I ought to report to you. And I'll be gone before you get here."

If all of us could just prove to the government that we knew sin—that is, Communism—when we saw it, we might be through and gone before the government—or God—found out what else we were up to.

Because we Americans are a self-governing people, we Christian Americans are doubly responsible to God: as subjects and as rulers. As rulers, we are ultimately responsible for our post-war foreign policy. That policy cannot, I believe, be defended before God.

Our self-righteousness about Communism has not only blinded us to the hundred little private sins we all commit against God and against our neighbours across the street in our own home town. It has blinded us to the sin we have allowed our government to commit in our name against some two-thirds of mankind—against men, women, and children whom, thanks to modern technology, we now meet daily as we go down to Jericho.

I have tried to describe elsewhere the misery

"Investigate churches," say McCarthyites

"Investigate Government policy," says

## STRINGFELLOW BARR

of these our new neighbours; the famines and epidemics that make their lives a hell, the lack of clothes and shelter, the ignorance, the filth.

The Communists have offered them a plan and insist that it is a plan of genuine escape from this unspeakable misery.

We have offered them "Point Four"—and the very words are a bitter jest in most of the countries of the world.

We have insisted on making Point Four a bilateral Washington project, while the United Nations programme of technical assistance stands along on shoe-string appropriations.

We have tried to persuade our neighbours that "American know-how" is all they really lack, when they desperately need capital investment in basic public services.

We have even urged that private investment by American business—guaranteed against nationalisation by our government perhaps—would be better than public investment anyhow, when the whole of their colonial history has schooled them to beware of foreign investors.

When we finally did offer sizeable grants for public investment, we added military strings that frightened six friendly nations into refusing our help.

We are busy explaining that we will do wonders later, as soon as we have saved them from Communism, but that until then all our money is needed for weapons.

They have not asked us to save them from Communism. They would like to eat.

THEY have not asked that America alone save them from anything—even from the starvation they regard as a more clear and present danger than Communism.

Ever since 1947, once a year, they have asked us to join them in setting up an International Development Authority capable of saving all of us from a sick world economy. That sickness threatens them with starvation. Starvation is making it easy to spread Communism. We regard the spread of Communism as Russian aggression. This is the sequence that spells revolution in many countries, and war for all of us.

Every year they urge us to join them in what is actually the common problem of mankind. And every year we slap down their proposals.

These are facts the average Christian in our country does not know, facts that go a long way towards illustrating how deadly a sin self-righteousness can be, even about Communism.

But is it not time the average Christian in our country should demand an explanation of our government as to how our policy can lead us anywhere but war? As to what, since it rejects our neighbours' proposal, it proposes to do about the most gigantic practical problem that modern man confronts?

The average Christian cannot demand an explanation intelligently because he has not examined the problem and does not know the real facts.

He will not find the real facts on this



STRINGFELLOW BARR, born in Suffolk, Virginia, in 1897, came to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar in 1919. After four years in Europe he returned as history teacher at the University of Virginia. He later became president of St. John's College, Annapolis.

He is now visiting professor of general studies at the University of Virginia.

In 1948 he became president of the Foundation for World Government and two years later wrote the pamphlet which made his name familiar in Britain, "Let's Join the Human Race" (Chicago University Press, 25 cents; Housmans Bookshop, 2s).

His most recent books are "Citizens of the World," with a foreword by Justice William O. Douglas, and "The Pilgrimage of Western Man."

His article is reprinted with acknowledgement to The Churchman.

problem in the American press (our self-righteousness has taken care of that) and he does not read the press of other countries. So, if he demands an explanation of Washington, it can fob off almost any explanation on him and he will take it. Like Point Four.

Yet if he would rule as a Christian ruler—which is what he is—he must pierce the Gold Curtain that separates the thinking of the richest people in history from the thinking of the wretched hundreds of millions in "the free world" we are busy saving.

I SUGGEST that we Christian leaders, whether ministers or laymen, had better do a little investigating of our own.

We had better investigate our foreign policy.

We had better investigate why our agents in Washington are refusing to co-operate with our neighbours in other lands, why we prefer to play rich uncle instead of loyal brother.

Our Christian neighbours need not begin by investigating Congressman Velde, who is a product of our national self-righteousness, who may really believe he has located a source of sin, and who may honestly believe he can exorcise it and leave all of us as sinless as himself.

No, we Christian rulers had better first examine ourselves.

We can organise study groups in our churches immediately and, through hard and earnest discussion of the relevant books and documents, we can formulate clearly the questions on foreign policy that we should be asking our representatives in Congress. And we can put ourselves in a position to insist on real answers from men who are responsible to us for real answers. We can then ask God's forgiveness for being negligent rulers and therefore half-hearted Christians, with confidence that He will forgive us.

Until we have thus lifted from our consciences a great burden of sin, we shall remain Pharisees, able to see sin only in the Kremlin.

## Publications received

### DOCTORS AND PEACE BUILDING

"THE medical man must stay aloof from all co-operation with any military apparatus whatsoever," declares Dr. E. E. Meursing, of Dordrecht, Holland, in an article published in the May bulletin of the British Medical Association, for the Prevention of War.

Entitled "Doctors and Peace Building—Third Way," the article sums up the positive duties of Dutch medical men as being:

1. To propagate the opinion that medicine is incompatible with militarism.

2. To create more opportunities in Holland for medical work, outside military organisations, for conscientious objectors, so preparing them for the building up of future international relief teams.

3. To make contact with Quaker and other groups carrying on international medical relief work.

4. To make contact with the Medical Association for the Prevention of War.

5. To distinguish clearly between:

a. The National Military Medical Services, with the National Red Cross organisations affiliated to them, serving mainly for the building up and maintenance of the military machine, contrary to the intentions of Henry Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross; and

b. The International Red Cross at Geneva, mainly having a humanitarian aim consistent with the intentions of Dunant.

As negative duties he urges non-co-operation with prejudiced political agitation from either West or East.

Doctors should refrain from co-operation with "military cover organisations": National Red Cross, civilian organisations for the protection of civilians, as being inspired by acceptance of and willingness to participate in total war.

The MAPW Bulletin is published from Lansdowne Rd., London, W.1.

## You can't win a fire

A *Faith for Tough Times*, by Harry Emerson Fosdick, sc8vo, 128pp. (SCM Press, 2s. 6d.)

THIS volume contains three lectures delivered in February last year to an audience which included about a thousand American ministers and other Christian leaders. To call them "pep talks" may sound a little disrespectful, but it is not intended to be, and that is what they are. They provide no new information, no boldly original thoughts, no fundamental argument: but a deep and satisfying faith boldly asserted in fresh, vivid language with plenty of anecdotes and striking metaphors, and must have sent the author's hearers away wonderfully refreshed and encouraged. This little book will certainly have a similar effect on all who read it.

Dr. Fosdick's work is, of course, well known to pacifists in this country (it was from one of his sermons that Dick Sheppard took the words that form the pledge of the PPU) and they expect some outspoken comment on what is said in these lectures. They will not be disappointed. Among other memorable quotations, he quotes one from the American General, H. Arnold, "One nation cannot defeat another nation today. That concept died with Hiroshima. War is like fire; you can prevent fire or you can try to put it out, but you can't win a fire, because fire is destruction."

T. R. D.

## QUOTES

In 1846, a legend goes, Henry Thoreau was jailed for refusing to pay taxes as a political protest. Visiting Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson peered through the bars and asked: "What are you doing there?"

Thoreau replied: "What are you doing there?"

—Oregon State Bar Bulletin

## By PEACEMAKER

her husband of Sevagram, the Ashram founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1936, and quite one of the most outstanding of Gandhi's followers.

Commander Fox-Pitt, secretary of R.A.P.C. Unity and until recently in government service in Rhodesia;

Bill and Paula Sutherland of American Peacemakers.

## Constructive programme

A SHIA DEVI and the Sutherlands were able to join in the Non-violent Resistance Group's conference last Sunday, when a constructive programme for Britain, without which the Group feel their work will be ineffective.

The report of the World Pacifist Meeting (the section on Peace, Basic Education and the Social Order) was quoted by Tom Ward in the opening stages of the discussion:

"Once again men and women in every country are looking into the heavens for a sign of better days to come. But no sign is given them. Salvation must be won by only courageous living can win it. The courage of 20 men, or 10, or even one might yet save the situation . . .

"A peace propaganda that is unrelated to a policy of fundamental social reconstruction and human transformation will fail in its purpose in a period when time is running out."

This section of the report is now available in a reprint of what I have always believed to be the most valuable of Wilfred B. Hodson's pamphlets, "Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary." (Housmans Bookshop, 1s. 3d.)

## 'Voice' For Peace LABOUR'S NORTHERN VOICE

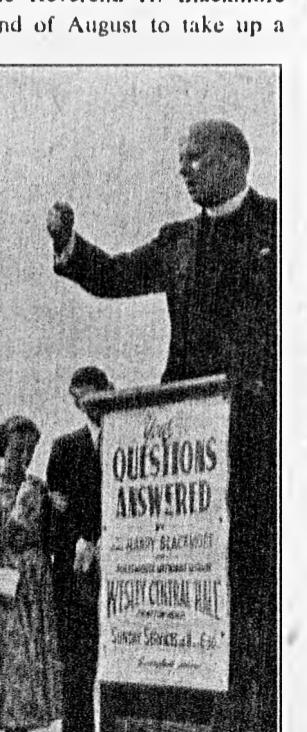
does not believe real peace can be secured by a negative anti-war outlook.

- A physical peace is not enough. True peace must include the abolition of social injustice throughout the world.
- A postcard to 2 Russell St., Downing St., Manchester 1, will bring you a specimen copy. Annual postal subscription 3s. 6d.

## TRIBUNE Socialist—Independent—Fearless

The new weekly, Fourpenny, Tribune brings you open discussion of the issues facing the Labour Movement, factual accounts of the impact of a Tory Government on ordinary people and the real facts about what is happening abroad. The Editorial Board are Jennie Lee, Michael Foot, Ian Mikardo and J. P. W. Mallalieu. Help to keep this independent socialist newspaper going, by ordering now.

Special Subscriptions for New Readers—2s. 6d for nine issues posted directly to you. Send cash with order to Tribune, 222 Strand, London, W.C.2.



## Leaves from a Notebook

### They lead

ON top of the good news that both the Methodist and Congregational denominations are presided over this year by pacifists in the persons of Dr. Donald Soper and Ebenezer Cunningham, I can report another happy appointment.

Dr. Norman Goodall is Chairman-elect of the Congregational Union of England and Wales and will be occupying the chair which will be vacated by Mr. Cunningham next year.

Dr. Goodall, author of that scholarly pamphlet published by the Independent Press last year, "Pacifism and Some Christian Centralities," is at Edinburgh House with the United Missionary Council, the body which co-ordinates almost all the Missionary Societies.

### Overseas visitors

I VERY much enjoyed Russell Johnson's talk last Thursday.

As a member of the Authors' World Peace Appeal said to me as we left the Friends International Centre after the meeting, "We don't get enough opportunities to hear this kind of balanced talk on American politics."

At the risk of making these notes appear like a column in The Tatler, I must express my pleasant surprise at seeing the following there:

Tony Bishop, Editor of The Australian Peacemaker, once again in England for a period of work at the War Resisters International headquarters;

Asha Devi Aryanayakam, Indian delegate to the UN Social Commission, co-director with

## Voice from America

Quotes from a talk given by Russell Johnson, a regional peace secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, in London last week.

The AFSC is responsible for most of the peace activities undertaken by American Quakers.

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Oregon State Bar Bulletin

ACEMAKER

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## Letters to the Editor

### Peace News on Berlin

I CONGRATULATE you on your Berlin commentary which turned out to be correct. This is all the more remarkable since it was difficult to see even here what was really going on.

We have now definite evidence that the first demonstrations were either spontaneous or perhaps even wanted by the Russians. It was only after the West had called their crowds and gangs together that the People's Police took action.

Both the Americans and Adenauer's supporters did their very best to provoke the Russians to violence, fortunately the Russians this time reacted with as little violence as possible.

The Russians will not allow their peace offensive to be interrupted by the Berlin events. The latest decrees show that the "new line" will be maintained.

We have now to consider three power groups in Central Europe:

1. The Russians.

2. The Americans allied with the Bonn Government.

3. The French, British and a considerable number of Germans, West and East, who seriously want peace, do not love the Russians, but try not to hate them.

I was glad to read that the non-provocative attitude of the Russians was stressed in the House of Commons. The Berlin paper "S.O.S." ran a headline: "The Third World War does not take place," emphasising that the intervention of that infamous American loudspeaker car in the Potsdamer Platz, was meant to provoke the conflagration by inciting more youngsters to throw themselves against the Russian tanks.

HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI.

Berlin

### "Guilt Complex"?

I'VE often said to myself, someone really ought to write and let them know.

It's so easy, when you hear of the small, isolated, almost meaningless successes in the

U.S. and of the few, isolated, almost insignificant people who work at them, to create an illusory picture of a strong, active, dynamic movement. But then I reverse matters, and recall how gratified I am to read of a country where a former minister of a departed government had once, years before, dared to be a conscientious objector. I remember my warm glow at the thought of a handful of pacifist MP's, or at the discovery of your decidedly superior CO laws.

And then I don't write you that cruel description of America's infinitesimal pacifist underground—for I recall how deeply disappointing the actual facts about England are.

Why destroy your cottage in the air when practically the whole function of Peace News, for me, is the support of my own atmospheric castle?

But sometimes you carry it too far. Like you Behind the News, June 26, *Guilt Complex?* inspired by the Pulitzer Prize cartoon of a G.I. dead without yet having been blessed with the ballot.

The 18 year old vote issue in this country is purely rabid politics, originated and sponsored by such sensitive souls as the editors of the wildly tabloid N.Y. Daily News or the Malam-like Governor Falstaff of Georgia (the first state to actually give 18 year olds the vote). It's a typically irrelevant, exclusively political issue of the sort that dominates and makes asinine most American elections and campaigns, exciting people into a desperately partisan fight inside a paper bag.

As an "issue" it provides the framework for simultaneously organising and distracting that potentially progressive element, youth. It gives teen-agers a harmless cause, keeps them out of left-wing trouble—and think of the pull it has at the polls. In short, on all levels it offers an ideal political out: its popularity is attested by the planks of both parties in the recent Presidential campaign.

As a final comment on America's political sensitivity may I ask you, in the event of publication, to withhold my name? It's more than likely that Messrs. Cohn and Schine, and through them Herr McCarthy, are as well read and up to date in pacifist literature as they are in other subversive directions. And—very seriously—I have a family to support.

Ohio, USA

### In defence of Riverside

MR. HOGAN should learn a little more about our friends at The Riverside Community.

This thriving community is the lively centre of pacifist activity in New Zealand, with strong social responsibility and wide international contacts.

Its members appear to be singularly free from pride and prejudice, singularly blessed with sense and sensibility. In addition to valuable practical and social work in many fields they have offered homes and rehabilitation to (speaking from memory) refugee families, old tramps, an alcoholic, an ex-convict, and such hardened and unrepentant sinners as me and Mr. Hogan.

It would be interesting to hear what comparable work Mr. Hogan's "normal human group" is doing, and especially how they are tackling the problem of the millions of refugees.

I take it that his particular group is Greater London. May heaven help him to leave that iniquitous lump.

SAMUEL E. HALES.

Cherry Tree Cottage,

Williton, Somerset.

JULY 24, 1953, PEACE NEWS—5

### Campaign Corner

## DO YOU NEED SHOCK TREATMENT?

A STALWART WORKER for Peace News writes:

"The other week a friend of mine, a young man I represented at his tribunal some years ago, called unexpectedly on me. I tossed him some PN to read while I made a cup of tea. 'Here, read these, you ought to be taking it yourself you know.' 'Yes,' he replied. 'I know it's awful—you just carry us.'"

Does this, for instance, apply to you? Our correspondent adds:

"It's time some of these young people were shamed by some mental shock treatment into paying conscience subscriptions, and getting you new readers."

How many conscientious objectors received encouragement and support from Peace News, especially during the war years, and yet now fail to support the paper which has a new generation of objectors to win?

The war they resisted continues, peace is not yet, nor ever will be here until all who believe war to be wrong act positively to bring peace.

Perhaps one or two who read this column may be just 'taking for granted' the free copy some devoted enthusiast sends them regularly.

★

Somehow or other we have to find £50 a week to keep this paper going, £50 over and above the normal income from sales and advertisements.

If you can't afford to pay, enjoy that gift copy with a clear conscience. But if you can help us to bridge this formidable week-by-week gap, please do so now, do it by sending your personal subscription (rates below) and by administering a friendly jog-of-the-conscience to your CO friends who need shock treatment.

On August 21 a copy of Sir John Hunt's "Conquest of Everest" will be earmarked for the best account (up to 100 words) of "How I Obtained Four Trial Subscriptions to Peace News." Don't pass over this as a "catch-penny stunt."

It is a serious effort to help bridge this wide circulation and financial deficiency. There will be consolation prizes for runners-up.

Top entry to date is eight trial orders for her school friends from an East Barnet school girl. This should rouse all Old Scholars to immediate action.

H. F. M.

Circulation last week 10,900.

### PEACE PLEDGE UNION RELIGION COMMISSION

PACIFIST UNIVERSALIST SERVICE

3.15 p.m. Sunday July 26

Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, (near Victoria Station).

Discourse: Rev. Will Hayes

1066 and all that—the Common Man looks at History

LANHAM 1437

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OSTEOPATH — NATUROPATH — PRACTITIONER

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# The retreat from Churchill

## UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER AGAIN?

IT is clear now that the Government has carried out a strategic retreat, under pressure from Washington, from the Churchill policy for a Four-Power Conference to examine, without insistence on a preliminary agenda, the differences between East and West.

Sir Winston Churchill can be incalculable at critical moments and there are men both in the American Government and in our Cabinet who are not too enthusiastic about meeting the Russians and who favour the tough policy of continuing rearmament and making Germany a strong military power. Such men think that the recent events in East Germany have shown that their defence programme is beginning to make the Russians weaker and that all that they have to do is carry on as they have been doing for the last four years.

### Unconditional surrender

Now it is Russia, largely through her own defence programme, that is in political and economic difficulties in the satellite countries and indeed in the USSR itself.

But that does not mean that the Russians are prepared to accept a policy of unconditional surrender to the West.

Indeed a tough Western attitude now might well strengthen the people in Russia, who believe that strength must be met by strength, and that the line of policy pursued by the Russians since Stalin's death is weakness.

It is not difficult to understand their point of view. They are the opposite numbers of our own soldiers and politicians who are always telling us in Foreign Affairs and Defence Debates that we must have big armies and more bombers in order to negotiate with the Russians "from strength."

In Russia they would be in favour of holding on to East Germany and the satellite countries for reasons of strategy and from fear of the charge of "appeasement" if they should change their policy.

The Americans are still insistent that

### STUART MORRIS

From page one

power of a Christian country did not consist only in military might; and a hope that Britain would check the irresponsibility of a nation not yet ready for the use of power.

In the USA too, he found the hope expressed that Briton and American might live together, and not die together.

### Ellis Island

Speaking of his detention on Ellis Island, Stuart Morris said that there was nothing in the McCarran Act which must exclude pacifists as such. He hoped that his case might be regarded by officials as a test case, and that other pacifists might thereafter find an easier passage.

He gave an interesting and detailed account of life on Ellis Island, a strange community of folk from all nations bound together in friendship and trust by a common sense of frustration and hope, waiting, waiting—it might be for two or three weeks, or it might be for as much as four years.

The speaker welcomed this opportunity of expressing his thanks to the many people who had worked so hard for his release; to the American press which could so easily have smeared him but did not do so; and to Senator McCarthy himself for giving to the pacifist movement such welcome publicity.

Stuart Morris concluded his talk on a hopeful note.

Even if there were not many pacifists, the five per cent minority could soon become ten per cent, and there would be a sufficiently strong minority to bring about the things for which they asked.

"We do not need to count numbers" he concluded, "neither the Chairman, Sybil Morrison, nor myself are concerned that the Peace Pledge Union is a minority movement: all the great reforms of history have come about through the faith and initiative of a minority."

Before the meeting there was a social gathering at Dick Sheppard House. Among those present to greet Stuart Morris, were Vera Brittain, Prof. George Catlin, Reginald Sorenson, MP, Victor Yates, MP, Laurence Housman, Grace Beaton and Harold Bing, Secretary and Chairman of the War Resisters International.

### COLONIAL PLUNDER—NO HEALTH SERVICES

(£ million)	1950	1951	Approx. number of inhabitants per physician
	Exports (f.o.b.)	Imports (f.o.b.)	
<b>NIGERIA</b> Popul. 25 mill.	87	54	76,000
<b>GOLD COAST</b> Popul. 4 mill.	76	43	34,000
<b>KENYA</b> Whites: 29,660 Negroes: 5,251,000	20	28	18,200 mainly for whites
<b>MALAYA</b> Europeans: 9,607 Malaysians: 2,428,000 Chinese: 1,885,000 Others, mainly Indians: 586,000	468	306	500
<b>ALL COLONIAL TERRITORIES (excl. Hong Kong)</b>	1,013	734	1,420
			1,059

SOURCES: Digest of Colonial Statistics (Col. Office) UN Statistical Yearbook, 1951, page 539.

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# UNLESS...

Both in negotiation and war the Communists hold the initiative in Korea. The United Nations forces are making only limited headway against the concentrations of Chinese that have flattened the Kumsong salient in the course of terrible fighting. —The Observer, July 19, 1953.

THERE has been much speculation in regard to the Prime Minister's sudden and rather mysterious illness coming at the very moment when his plan for high level talks between the Western Powers was to take place at Bermuda.

That he believed the time had come for such talks with Russia he had already made clear, and it is possible that at Bermuda he would have pressed for this to take place.

That Churchill has in mind to add to the laurels of war leadership with which he is already crowned, and for which he has been so loudly acclaimed by all parties in this country, the even finer garland of peaceful olive leaves, he has himself made clear on the occasion when he declared that the finest prize was still to be won, and indicated that he meant to win it.

To go to the Russian hierarchy, not to appease or to plead, but for the purpose of reaching some agreement to end the cold war, would seem, on the face of it, to be a treacherous

Korea peace prospects are good... Over the past 20 months there has been a lessening of world tension... One of the causes has been the building up by the free world of defensive armaments. —Selwyn Lloyd, Television "Press Conference," July 17, 1953.

mendous gesture for peace. But it must be remembered that this gesture would be made by the might of the Air Force, so recently demonstrated before the Queen, by the B-52 bomb, by experiments on rocket power by conscripted man power.

Gestures, after all, may be used to guise true intent; a man may hold out the right hand in apparent friendship, and the danger concealed in his left, pierce the heart. Which is not to say that Churchill has any such thought in mind, but suspicion dies hard.

Negotiation has no chance of being productive of peace so long as it is conducted against a background bristling with bacteria and bayonets.

Whether they have learned it from Western Powers, or merely agree with leaders of those Powers, that negotiation for strength is the only way in which to achieve discussion, it is plain that the Communists are equally determined to keep always ready in one hand or the other.

But for this grim faith that negotiation should be based on the principles of a master, the war in Korea could have ended two years ago. The recent air attack, and counter-attack, while truce negotiations were proceeding, shows with a chilling clarity, the consequences of the world's pitiful belief in war as the arbiter. We cannot blame the Communists for showing their teeth in the middle of armistice talks, when that is our own fault.

"Defensive armaments," says Lloyd, referring to it is to be assumed to and napalm, rockets and jets, as though did not know that these things in the hands of another nation are called, unequivocally "aggressive." No doubt he, and the Minister, and other leading statesmen say that we shall not use them, unless But it is that one little word, "unless," is at the very core of the negotiation strength doctrine.

If Churchill would go to Malenkov and that the welfare of the human race is important, peace so dear, and freedom so dear to the people of Britain, that at once call a halt to the armament and abandon conscription, and negotiate from a position, he might, even now, have within his grasp the finest prize of all.

The fear that Malenkov would immediately strike him down as a doddering old man and launch an attack upon these islands is the outcome of Churchill's own propaganda against the Communist Russia he has hated, not the outcome of logical deduction.

No one today would like to be held responsible for a war which could annihilate the human race, and if war is worth the risks involved, the pursuit of peace should be worth at least as great a risk.

To denounce war as evil while preparing for it, is futile, illogical and immoral; for peace will be won only when it is renounced.

### PEACE BIRTHDAY

**SWEDEN:** The Peace and Arbitration League, biggest peace movement in the year, is celebrating its 70th anniversary.

**DENMARK:** Well-known pacifists England, Finland, Holland, Norway, Sweden will be speaking at an international peace rally from July 27 to August 1.

**USA:** More than 1,600,000 Americans in uniform are serving overseas; a tenth of US Air Force strength is in Europe; there are 21 major US air bases in Britain, according to the US News and World Report.

J. B. Matthews, executive director of McCarthy's investigating sub-committee, recently that the "largest single group reporting the Communist apparatus in United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." This statement has given rise to a wave of protest from clergymen all over the world.

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